

# BOURGEOIS CONSTITUTION UPHELD BY JUDICIARY

## Mrs. GANDHI'S ASSAIL ON PRIVY PURSE A MERE STUNT

The Supreme Court judgment striking down the abolition of privy purses should be an eye-opener to those who still harbour any illusion about changing this bourgeois constitution through peaceful and parliamentary process. If this judgment is considered along with the judgment on Golaknath case, the veiled character of bourgeois dictatorship under the garb of parliamentary democracy would be thoroughly exposed.

In the Golaknath case Justice Hidayatullah inter alia stated in his judgment:—"I am apprehensive that the erosion of the right to property may be practised against other fundamental rights. If a halt is to be called, we must declare the right of Parliament to abridge or take away fundamental rights. Small inroads lead to larger inroads and become as habitual as before our freedom was won. The history of freedom is not only how freedom is achieved, but how it is preserved. I am of the opinion that an attempt to abridge or take away fundamental rights even through an amendment of the constitution can be declared void. This court has the power and jurisdiction to make the declaration" Thus the Court has exercised this power in striking down the measure against privy purses which should have been abolished long ago.

It is apparent that the Supreme Court invoked the clause of right to property in declaring the abolition of privy purses as void. Privy purses is not however property right and it is enjoyed as extra privilege by the former rulers who are mostly converted into industrialists. Privy purse is nothing but a continuation of feudal practice and the national bourgeoisie of our country should have done away with these feudal practices. But the reason why this practice along with other remnants of feudalism has been continuing in our country still now is to be

found out in the weakness of our nationalist movement. The national bourgeoisie who took over power from the British imperialists could not accomplish these tasks as they were mortally afraid of mass upsurge against all sorts of oppression and this fear complex of revolution of the capitalist class compelled them to compromise both with imperialism as well as with feudalism. The Congress, the mouthpiece of the capitalist class has been getting the help of the former rulers to curb popular movements and in lieu of it they have been getting this privilege of privy purse. But, of late, the former rulers were dilly dallying and with the division of Congress they were withdrawing support from Mrs. Gandhi's Congress. This narrow party interest prompted Mrs. Gandhi to abolish privy purse but she did it with a "progressive" public posture.

**R. K. B.**

Privy purse may be abolished through suitable amendment of constitution, but the central focal point in the judgment against its abolition is the attitude of the judiciary towards the clause of right to property, which Mrs. Indira Gandhi also considers sacred. When the attitude of the judiciary to such an insignificant issue like privy purse is so rigid, one can well imagine what its attitude would be towards any progressive measure which

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## LIST OF S. U. C. CANDIDATES TO CONTEST IN THE ENSUING ELECTION

### LOK SOBHA SEATS

#### West Bengal

1. Joynagar : Chitta Ranjan Roy
2. Jangipur : Prof. Sukomal Dasgupta
3. Calcutta (South) : Asutosh Banerjee

#### Bihar

4. Jamshedpur : Hiren Sarkar
5. Dhanbad : Prof. Nalini Ranjan Singh
6. Chapra : Amar Kumar Pandey

#### Assam

7. Dhubri : Prof. Joynal Abedin
8. Karimganj : Prof. Radha Kanta Tanti

#### Haryana

9. Rohtak : Ran Singh
10. Jharjhar :

#### Kerala

11. Quilon : K. C. Dominic

### ASSEMBLY SEATS

#### West Bengal

##### 24 Parganas

1. Joynagar : Subodh Banerjee
2. Mathurapur : Renupada Halder
3. Pathar Pratima : Rabin Mandal
4. Kultali : Prabodh Purkait
5. Magrahat (East) : Anukul Bar
6. Magrahat (West) : Dr. Golam Rasul Mollik
7. Canning : Dulal Mandal
8. Kulpi : Sasanka Sekhar Naiya
9. Basanti : Ajit Naskar
10. Gosaba : Dr. Ramanath Patra

#### Calcutta

11. Ballygunge : Prof. Menoka Basu Roy

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Contribute generously to Party Election Fund

## Com. NIHAR MUKHERJEE ACCUSES West Bengal Police FOR CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the S. U. C. I., has released the following statement to the Press :—

“We strongly condemn the orgy of violence let loose by the police on the workers and supporters of our Party, particularly in South 24-Parganas. The local police, especially the policemen posted at different camps in the area, are carrying on serious assaults on them, injuring them severely. Thousands of false cases have been instituted against them; every day new false cases are being instituted. Hundreds of our workers and supporters have been forced to leave their villages in apprehension of police violence. Hundreds more, including a former M.L.A. are rotting in jails as under-trial prisoners, as they cannot be released on bail because lawyers have already exhausted their capacities to stand security.

“We can cite hundreds of such cases of police acting as criminals. We only cite a few examples as illustrations. On 7.1.71 the policemen posted at Kishorimohanpur police camp under Kultali P. S. area accompanied by some notorious jotedars arrested without any warrant of arrest Shri Jitendra Nath Paul, Anchal-Pradhan, Moipit-Baikunthapur Anchal and a prominent peasant leader of our party. He was mercilessly beaten by the police at the instance of the jotedars. When he was taken to the Kultali P. S. he was again severely assaulted by the O. C. of the P. S. and two other constables as a result of which he became unconscious and suffered serious physical injuries. He was produced before a magistrate after 60 hours from the time of his arrest in gross violation of the Constitution and the law.

“The same policemen severely assaulted Shri Bhagabat Halder a local student leader of our party, hang up his body from a tree, and forced him to write and sign a declaration according to the dictation of the police under duress, severely beating him all the time till he become unconscious. Shri Paul also was forced to do it.

“These policemen a few days later went to arrest the young unmarried sister of Shri Paul as she dared to complain against the police assault on her brother. Finding her not at home, the policemen arrested another inmate who was working at the house of Shri Paul and took him to the police camp, severely beating him all the time he was in police custody.

“The policemen posted at Dakshin Durgapur under Kultali P. S. similarly assaulted Chunilal Sardar, Nimai Sardar, Panchu Sardar, Akbar Naskar, Surath Molla, Earali Molla and others severely, arrested them without any warrant of arrest forcibly extracted money from them and then let them go.

“Elections to the Lok Sabha and the West Bengal Vidhan Sabha are at hand. With police oppression thus mounting hundreds of our workers rotting in jails and thousands leaving their villages for fear of police violence, the assurance given by the Government for free and fair election is all farce.

“It is known that the Administration set up the police camps apprehending troubles during harvesting. Now that the harvesting is over (it is a hard reality that the policemen posted at the

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## By The Way

Mr. P. mode Das Gupta, the C. P. M. leader, is reported to have said, as published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 30.12.70., that his party did not consider the C. P. I. even as a Leftist party. Rather it considers the C. P. I. and the Bangla Congress as the ‘first enemy’ since they play second fiddle to Ruling Congress’s designs. He dismissed the idea of any alliance with the C. P. I. and firmly said “that joining of hands with the C. P. I. would never arise.” The same daily in its issue on the following day has given out an interesting piece of news. “The Gujarat units of the Communist Party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxist) today said they would jointly fight the forthcoming Lok Sabha election. State Secretaries Mr. Dinkar Mehta (C. P. I.-M) and Mr. Subodh Mehta, (C.P.I.) told that their parties would form a united front. They would soon meet to finalise the numbers of candidates, to be put up.”

It is interesting to note that in West Bengal where CPI at least outwardly is fighting against the Congress (R), the CPI(M) could not make any alliance with the CPI and is branding the C.P.I. as a stooge of Congress (R), but in Gujarat, like all other States barring West Bengal, where C.P.I. has come to an alliance with the Congress (R), the C.P.I. (M) could easily make a united front with the C.P.I. Where then lies the anti-Congressism of the C.P.I.(M)? Readers may get extremely perplexed to see this “dialectical” move of the C.P.I. (M.) leaders against their so-called “first enemies”. But such type of opportunism, trickery and falsehood have long been the stock-in-trade of the C.P.I.(M) by virtue of which it wants to thrive in parliamentary politics.

Leaders of some opposition parties of the dissolved Parliament have recently made an accusation against the Congress (R) for its misuse of Government machinery to further its petty party interest. It has been alleged that the Congress (R) has issued fresh industrial licenses worth Rs. 800 crores in the last few weeks, in contravention of assurances given in Parliament, for increasing the Party’s fund. One opposition party even has alleged that the Congress (R) has finalised a plan for requisitioning 1000 to 2000 jeeps from jeep manufacturers for its election purposes. “On behalf of the Defence Department Mr. P. C. Sethi, Minister-in-charge of Production has agreed that the manufacturers may not make immediate delivery of the jeeps which the Defence Department had contracted to purchase. Instead, the jeeps will be supplied to the hire-purchase companies which will in their turn “hire” them out to the Ruling Congress. The Central Bank and other nationalised banks will give loans to these hire purchase companies to enable them to purchase these jeeps. After the elections the jeeps will be bought back by the manufacturers at a discount; the jeeps will then be re-conditioned and sold to the Defence Ministry and other Government departments and undertakings “(Statesman dated 12th January, 1971). This is just an indication of Indira way to socialism through “fair, peaceful, democratic means.”

## MUSLIM CONVENTION

# The present capitalist system—the root cause of problems for the Muslim masses

A two-day All-India Muslim Political Convention was held in Delhi on December last. The object of the Convention was to form a single political body of Muslims out of various groups of Muslim organisations now existing in different regions of the country to uphold the cause of the Muslim community, ameliorate their sufferings and upgrade the position of Muslims in various streams of social activities.

The political resolution of the Convention says that "the experience of the past 20 years has shown that by and large the existing political parties in the country, be they Rightist or Leftist, have not only failed to help Muslims in solving their problems, but have accentuated them. Forced by these circumstances Muslims in various States have formed political parties called by different names, but basically with similar aims and objects." The purpose of the proposed body is to provide "an authentic and authoritative forum where political bodies of an All India nature and other issues particularly concerning the Muslim community would be discussed"

There is no denying the fact that the bulk of the Muslim population like the major masses of people of other communities in the country suffers from abject poverty, insecurity of life lack of any educational and cultural facilities even after twenty three years of Indian independence. The conditions in which these people are to live now can very well drive the masses to frustration and hopelessness. One thing is specifically related here that whenever some events break out Muslims are treated as suspects, harassed, imprisoned and tortured by the ruling authorities. It is but natural that such a conduct of the Government meted out to the Muslims has created a great

deal of discontent among the Muslim masses. But even if such an inhuman, undemocratic act of the administration has to be stopped, minority community alone cannot stop it. They will have to unite with the majority community and only by uniting the democratic forces of all sections of the people, and resisting such discriminatory acts of the Government, Muslims can really feel secure and guard themselves against any unjust and undemocratic act of the Government.

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### Biplab Sen

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What is necessary then is to find out the real socio-economic causes which have developed such a situation and to uproot these from social life. Without going deep into the actual causes which have given rise to these problems, simply by exploiting the deep-rooted discontent among the Muslim masses evoked due to the denial of some justified demands like constitutional status for Urdu as official language, job opportunities, security of life etc. formation of an organisation exclusively for Muslims will do more harm than good even to the Muslims and will bring no way nearer to solving these problems affecting the Muslim community.

It is now clear as daylight that Congress which represents the interest of the Indian bourgeoisie has served to build up capitalism during its more than two decades of rule at the Centre and in the States as well. The

policies pursued by Congress have further consolidated the position of the ruling class, namely the monopolists, the jotedars and the bureaucracy as against the toiling masses of the people. Due to the exploitation of capitalism and anti-people policies resolutely carried out by the Congress in the past and even now after it is divided, the economic position of the common people has further deteriorated, fundamental political rights and civil liberties trampled down and political persecution of people fighting for justice and forcible suppression of legitimate democratic movements are assuming higher order. The common Muslim masses, along with those of other communities are being equally and more intensively oppressed due to the further strengthening of capitalism and unshakable grip of the monopolists over the economy and other aspects of social life.

So without fighting capitalism and freeing the country from the grip and tentacle of the existing capitalist rulers it is impossible to resolve the basic problems and various other democratic demands of the Muslim community. The fate of the common Muslims aspiring for a better and secure life lies inextricably interwoven with the fate of the oppressed people of other communities living in the country. So it is necessary to build up united joint movement of the democratic sections of all communities, now groaning under the burden of capitalist exploitation, under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party capable of uniting the masses on the basis of correct revolutionary outlook and ideology. Any move to weaken this unity of the fighting masses and to create disruption in the consolidated strength of the

masses fighting on various democratic issues tantamounts to serving the very forces which are exploiting and oppressing the people and to help perpetuate its rule in a smoother way.

The present Convention called upon by the various Muslim political groups to project their communal approach and interests on a national plane is definitely a retrograde move which any democratically minded person cannot but view with serious concern. Not only the Convention preaches a non-secular approach and seeks to protect its outdated privileges which undermine the democratic fabric of life (there was a strong plea against any move to change the Muslim personal law and any interference in the activities of religious endowment), but what is more important is that the Convention itself is a step to preserve the communal virus which corrodes the national life immeasurably. For the sake of developing the united democratic movement of the people against all sorts of exploitation, economic, political, social and cultural, perpetrated by the ruling capitalist class and to step up the mass activities towards the revolutionary objective of completely freeing the masses from exploitation, it is an urgent task for all the progressive forces to fight out communalism of any form for strengthening the unity of the toiling masses. It is to be clearly understood that any disruption in the unity of the people and united left democratic movement on grounds of religion or other feudal customs and issues, benefits the ruling class tremendously to continue its repression on all sections of the toiling people.

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## People's Liberation cannot be achieved through amendment of Constitution

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may even remotely affect bourgeois class interest. The clause of right to property has been considered sacred and the parliament has no jurisdiction to amend this clause. The champions of parliamentary democracy may eulogise it as a model form which gives opportunity to the people to be governed by themselves through their chosen representatives, but the reality is otherwise. It is clear that the elected representatives of parliament can act only in the orbit of bourgeois constitution. But if their actions are directly antagonistic to the bourgeois class interest, it will not be tolerated. Other permanent organs of the State, like, Judiciary and Executive will intervene to protect the interest of the bourgeois class. The Judgment against the abolition of privy purses on the Golaknath case, clearly shows the naked character of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is clear that the Parliament has no right to change the fundamental rights as stated in the preamble of the constitution. The right to property has also been included as a fundamental right though the workers' right to work and right to live have nowhere been recognised in the said constitution. A cursory glance to the constitution reveals its reactionary and pro-capitalist character and yet the people's elected representatives who have enough freedom to howl and hurl abuses against one another in the central hall of the Parliament are indeed imbecile and powerless to change this clause of constitution. Thus it is evident that so long as the present state remains in tact, capitalism which is the main hindrance to our economic, social and cultural progress, will only be strengthened and consolidated. It is this capitalist class which has been plundering the whole resources of the country and exploiting the

masses for earning maximum profit and the administration of the country is being run with this aim in view since independence. Since the hegemony of the nationalist movement was in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, with the attainment of independence, the national bourgeoisie captured power. Thus the people who fought against the British imperialist could not realise their dreams of liberation from all sorts of exploitation in spite of their political independence. Hence unless this oppressive capitalism is overthrown and scientific socialism is established people's liberation can not be achieved. At present most of the political parties are speaking about socialism and Congress (R) headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi is new in the field. The recent radical postures of Congress (R) has undoubtedly created some confusion in public mind. But an objective analysis will reveal that these so-called progressive gestures are nothing but an attempt to hoodwink the people and the real aim of the Congress (R) headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi is to serve the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capitalism. Mrs. Indira Gandhi of late waxes eloquence on the necessity of changing ideas, laws and of constitution with a view to meet the changing needs of the society. So far as this idea is concerned, we fully agree with her; for nothing in this ever changing world is eternal. The ideas, the laws, and other ethical values that are developed for the progress of a particular society and contribute to the social progress become obsolete and hinder the progress of the society with the change of social order. So these values, laws etc. which one time contributed to the social progress must be changed when their progressive role is completely exhausted. In this connection the teachings of Com. Shibdas Ghose, the beloved leader and teacher of our Party, is to be

recalled in which he said:— "Every student of ethics and jurisprudence knows that everything legal is not always justified and moral. Naturally everything illegal in the eye of the law is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral". But how far the desire of Mrs. Gandhi to change the constitution conforms to this is to be judged on the anvil of her past and present performances. In the past whenever any voice was raised for changing the constitution, Mrs. Gandhi's Congress levelled it as treason on the plea that constitution was sacrosanct and adopted all possible measures to crush the voice of dissent. Even in recent times in spite of her so much progressive postures, the anti-people attitude of Congress (R) Government to all the legitimate democratic movement clearly shows that Mrs. Gandhi's brand of socialism is nothing but social democratism—the rock bottom foundation of fascism. People must be on the guard against this fake socialism of Congress (R).

In spite of its so-called radical facades, the real face of Indira Congress has been exposed in West Bengal. In West Bengal during President's rule which is the rule of the Central Congress (R) Government, it is the hard experience of the common man that the whole administration is being run by the Central Congress (R) Government in the interest of the vested interests, employers and jotedars. Police has been instructed to shoot to kill and has been given a free hand to let loose a reign of terror on the innocent people. In addition to these, the Central Congress (R) Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi has empowered this police whose imperialist heritage and anti-people role are well known, with the black acts like Prevention of Violent Activities Act and Public Order Maintenance Act. Thousands of peasants are arrested in collusion

with the jotedars and warrants of arrests are pending against thousands of poor peasants and landless labourers. This is the real face of Indira-Congress which is attempting to revitalize and rejuvenate the discredited Congress with certain so-called progressive postures. The role of big left parties is mainly responsible for creating confusion about the so-called progressive role of Congress (R) headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Instead of unmasking the real character of Congress (R), C.P.I and C. P. I. (M) painted Congress (R) as progressive though C.P.I.(M) has of late, been rather critical to Congress (R) as anti-Congress (R) role suits its party interest for the time being. As a matter of fact C.P.I (M) is pursuing worst type of opportunism branding Congress (R) as progressive at one time and reactionary at other time whenever it serves its narrow party

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## POLICE ACTIVITIES CONDEMNED

(Continued from page 2)

Camps and Thanas violated the Government decision and helped the jotedars to forcibly take away the crops grown by the poor peasants and Barga-dars), there is no ground why these Camps should be there. The policemen are carrying on campaign against our Party and our candidates for the elections.

"We, therefore, demand that (1) the police camps set up in South 24-Parganas and other places should be withdrawn; (2) the guilty policemen and officials who have been assaulting our workers and behaving as criminals should be transferred and suspended; (3) arrested political workers should be released on bail; (4) political workers should not be arrested and (5) police violence and behaviour as criminal should be stopped immediately."

# VELU PILLAI COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY IN KERALA

## Story Behind Mr. Namboodiripad's Resignation

The report of the Velu Pillai Commission of Enquiry in Kerala has been published. The Commission, headed by a High Court Judge, was appointed 14 months ago to inquire into charges against the C. P. M. ex-ministers, three great revolutionary leaders (!) Mr. Imbichi Bava, Mrs. K. R. Gauri and Mr. N. K. Krishnan.

The findings of the Velu Pillai Commission of Enquiry in Kerala have though caused astonishment to a section of the people of India who still believe the C. P. M. leaders as "saints," yet could not at all puzzle the people of Kerala who, after the publication of the Commission's report have just come to know what they knew much earlier.

There were charges that either Mr. Bava or his party "took bribes in connection with the appointments" of 824 temporary personnels in various categories in the State Road Transport Corporation. There were charges of malpractices and nepotism in all such cases. It was an open secret to the people of Kerala that either Mr. Bava or his party took Rs. 2500 against each such appointment. The Commission, however, was unable to verify this charge, presumably because, as everybody knows, such transactions are never made with any record. But it has been found by the Commission that "provisional appointments" of the 824 men to the State Transport Corporation was thoroughly "unjust, unfair, discriminatory, pernicious and liable to great abuse." The vacancies were never notified or advertised, nor were the candidates asked to apply through employment exchanges. Even some appointments were made without applications.

There were other charges too against the C. P. I. (M.) leader Mr. Bava. Those were about his functioning as the Food Minister. In this Department too, this great revolutionary

leader (!) has been found equally efficient in corrupt practices. From the Commission's succinct account of the appointment of "four favoured firms" as food distributors it is clear that Mr. Bava is guilty of great "impropriety."

"According to the Commission Mr. Bava's activities can be better described by the Malayalam term "Azhimati" which in the Commission's words means "rotten, putrid or impure act or conduct" (*Statesman, 16.1.71*)

These findings of the Commission give an indication as to why Mr. Namboodiripad resigned and demanded a fresh poll. People hoped that Mr. Namboodiripad would set up an Enquiry Commission (which any decent man with a minimum sense of democratic norms would have done) to prove that the charges made by the "bourgeois-landlords and their agents" against his 'revolutionary' comrades-in-arms were really false. But Mr. Namboodiripad found it safer to resign on this plea, probably because he was sure that any Commission would reveal the facts and expose to the people the bright revolutionary career (!) of his colleagues. Nor he had the hope that after his resignation if a mid-term poll could be arranged then with the inflated strength of the party (which his party gathered this way) and with the big money bags of Kerala (whom he and his party served most faithfully) his party would come back to power and then these charges could be very easily suppressed and under that condition "such revolu-

tionary practices" would be easier.

But ultimately neither this 'revolutionary dream' of Mr. Namboodiripad could materialise (because of the betrayal of the people!) nor the setting up of the Enquiry Commission could be averted. The cat is out of the bag now and this is really unfortunate!

But most fortunately, no Enquiry Commission has yet been set-up in West Bengal to inquire into the "revolutionary activities" of the former C. P. I. (M.) ministers, particularly those of Mr. Jyoti Basu, the accredited "Marxist-Leninist leader" of India and

his colleagues M/s. Satyapriya Roy, Hare Krishna Konar, Krishna Pada Ghose, Krishna Pada Halder etc. etc. against whom the 'agent of the reactionaries' and the people have levelled charges for using administration and particularly the police in their petty party interest. (There is a popular saying among the common people that Mr. Krishna Pada Halder issued license to the wine merchants). If such a Commission were set up, then probably it could very easily prove with glaring proofs that in corrupt practices, the pseudo-revolutionaries can often surpass the bourgeoisie.

### Fake Socialism of Congress (R)

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interest. The bank nationalisation which primarily aims at serving the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism was termed as progressive measure and the victory of Mr V. V. Giri as President of India was hailed as the victory of democratic and progressive forces in the Polibureau resolution of C. P. I. (M) in February 1970. This role of C. P. I. (M) has helped the rehabilitation of Congress which lost practically all influence over the people and now Congress (R) posed as progressive with the support of these big left parties is alluring

the voters with the promise of its brand of socialism which is claimed to be achieved through the amendment of constitution. But the judgment on privy purse case has once again clearly established that unless capitalist state is overthrown through revolution, and socialism is established through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the hopes and aspirations of the masses can not be realised. And for this purpose the people must be freed from the influence of the pseudo-revolutionary parties like the C.P.I., C. P. I. (M) and they must be organised under the correct Marxist-Leninist Party, the S. U. C. I., the only working class Party in India.

### LIST OF S. U. C. CANDIDATES

(Contd. from page 1)

#### Murshidabad

- |              |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| 12. Jangipur | : Achintya Sinha             |
| 13. Suti     | : Habibur Rahaman            |
| 14. Farakka  | : (to be announced later on) |
| 15. Domkal   | : Asraf Ali                  |

#### Birbhum

- |               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| 16. Suri      | : Prativa Mukherjee |
| 17. Murarai   | : Bazle Ahmed       |
| 18. Nalhati   | : Ziad Ali Boxi     |
| 19. Lavpur    | : Anita Mukherjee   |
| 20. Md. Bazar | : Quddus Ali Mallik |

#### Purulia

- |                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 21. Raghunathpur | : Haripada Bauri  |
| 22. Para         | : Sailen Bauri    |
| 23. Hura         | : Sadhu Banerjee  |
| 24. Manbazar     | : Anirudha Mahato |

#### Bankura

- |             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| 25. Barjora | : Sakti Shyam |
|-------------|---------------|

#### ORISSA

- |             |           |
|-------------|-----------|
| 1. Rourkela | : B. Jena |
|-------------|-----------|

## "Progressive" Congress (R) and "Revolutionary" C. P. I (M) Patronised and even Eulogised the Communal Organisations for selfish end

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To fight out communalism and assure better living standards for the masses of the oppressed minority, a scientific approach to these problems is necessary. No pious wish for the welfare of the minority community or shedding of deceptive tears by those who are rulling the country for the victims of communal holocaust which very often rips through across the country can prevent its occurrence. According to a review prepared by the Union Home Ministry, major communal riots in India number 132 in 1966, 220 in 1969 and 447 in 1968 and the first quarter of the year 1969. The horrors of communal holocausts which broke out in Bhivandi and Jalgaon in Maharastra and Chaibasa in Bihar last year defy all description. Not only the communal organisations and parties like Shiv Senas, R. S. S. and Jan Sangh are responsible in these ghastly inhuman deeds but even the Ruling Congress of Indira Gandhi which is so vociferous to stamp out communalism, and the administration run by it had overtly and covertly allied with the very forces which engineered these riots. It is a wellknown fact by now that although the Chief Minister of Maharastra, a stalwart of Congress (R), was previously informed of a possible communal disturbance sought to be created by the Shiv Senas, he did not take any action to prevent it neither did he punish the culprits belonging to the Shiv Senas who perpetrated the criminal acts of communal violence in Maharastrian regions. It can be easily guessed that sheer pragmatic interest prevailed over the Congress (R) leadership to overlook the crime of the communalist Shiv Senas whose support the Congress (R) sought to gather round it. Whatever might be the big professions of

the Congress (R) leaders, the inability and unwillingness of them to ban communal organisations like the R. S. S., Jan Sangh, Shiv Senas etc., and even an active move by them to strike some deal with these communal forces to reap political dividend, has left the people of the minority community in a state of extreme insecurity and frustration.

The performance of the big left parties in the country, like C. P. I., C. P. I. (M), S. S. P., P. S. P. etc. in this respect is no better also. All these parties, like the Congress, do not hesitate to combine with the communal parties and organisations existing in different regions, in furtherance of their petty party interest at the cost of democratic movement and democratic consciousness of the people. The Akali Dal in Punjab, the Progressive Muslim League in Kerala, the D.M.K. in Madras, and even the Jan Sangh, which are undoubtedly communal parties, reflecting sectional, regional or communal interest have very often found favourable partnership with these so-called left and democratic and even 'revolutionary' parties like C. P. I. and C. P. I. (M). While forming an alliance with the communalist forces, the big left parties namely C. P. I. and C. P. I. (M) were solely concerned about their prospect of increasing the influence in parliamentary politics and other petty advantages regardless of the consequences such an alliance entails with it in hindering the growth of progressive democratic movements. It is of course true that the question of fighting out communalism does not precisely lie in the question whether or not an alliance can be made with the communal parties even on some particular issues. There are innumerable cases in the history of progressive movement, where the Communists did not hesitate to combine with the communal and reli-

gious parties and organisations to fight out the main enemy at a particular stage of development of progressive democratic and even revolutionary movement. Take for example, in Vietnam the Communist Party there is waging a fierce battle against American imperialism and its stooge Government along with the religious organisations to free their Fatherland. But even in case of such joint struggles, not to speak of depicting these religious forces as progressive, the main purpose of the revolutionary forces is to isolate the communal parties through ceaseless ideological battle, draw in the masses who are under the influence of communal organisations on to the side of the revolutionary party and develop their democratic political and class consciousness and gradually reduce the communalist parties to an insignificant position while fighting against the main enemy. While on the one hand, it is necessary to keep arrested the communal parties and its mass force within the span of democratic movement for carrying out a minimum democratic programme vitally concerning the broad masses of all communities of people, on the other hand an ideological struggle should be launched against the anti-democratic, outdated, communal approach of these parties. Only when such an approach is reflected by the left parties while forming an alliance with the communal parties and organisations the alliance is justified and necessary. The Marxists-Leninists do not suffer from puritanism or adhere to abstract unworkable principle but view that action as moral and justified which follows out of objective reality and furthers the interest of democratic movement by isolating the main enemy from the masses. But did the so-called Marxist-Leninist parties like C. P. I.

and C. P. I. (M), when with great zeal, came to an understanding or alliance with the various communal parties, like the Akali Dal in Punjab, the Progressive Muslim League in Kerala, or the D. M. K. in Madras for fighting the election or forming the Government, follow this outlook? Even while uniting with them, did they launch any struggle so as to isolate them ideologically and politically? Our experience says, it was definitely just the reverse. No such broader perspective of developing mighty democratic movement and confining the mass force in association with the communal organisations within it was present during the period of their league with these forces. The C. P. M. leader Mr. Nambudiripad even went a step ahead by forming a separate Muslim-dominated district at Malappuram in Kerala to exploit the popular communal sentiments of Muslims. Not only they refrained from carrying out the urgent task of exposing the communal character of these organisations by making any criticism whatsoever about their communal activities, but paid no heed to the necessity of developing the strength of the democratic movement and democratic consciousness of the people, which alone can give burial to such reactionary organisations. C. P. M. even gave a 'progressive' certificate to the Muslim League in Kerala and took pains to show that this Muslim League was altogether different from the earlier communal Muslim League. It was because of this attitude of C. P. M., that Muslim League at a time when it was almost non-existent could develop as a powerful political force in Kerala and after gaining a strong foothold there, could venture to further increase its influence as an all India party. It is of course true, that the C. P. M., which brought to the fore the Muslim League with

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## The unfinished task of BDR to be included in the Programme of Left Democratic Movement

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a considerable strength due to its narrow partisan interest, is now repudiating the Muslim League for its communal line just because its grand alliance with it has broken. But such type of politics, which is to appease the Muslim League and even certify it as 'progressive', when there is alliance (no doubt an opportunist alliance) with it, and to condemn it as reactionary, when the alliance could not be maintained without fighting it out ideologically and politically, cannot check the growth of these communal organisations.

When such is the situation, and the Muslim League has become a political factor which can hardly be ignored, it is necessary to keep arrested this communal party within a left democratic programme and movement. Only by so doing, the Muslim League can be prevented to propagate its communal views vigorously in an independent way and thereby poison the minds of the Muslim masses more deeply. By forming such alliance, the left democratic forces however, without forgetting for a single moment about the communal character of such a party, and without eulogising this party as 'progressive', can very well use this opportunity and spread their influence over the Muslim common masses and thereby raise their progressive democratic political consciousness through the implementation of the accepted left democratic programme, which will in consequence, serve to subvert the influence of communal parties in course of time.

Apart from the failure and unwillingness of the Ruling and other so-called left and democratic parties to tackle the problem of communalism, it is necessary to discuss the actual conditions which lie at the root of these problems. In this matter we refer to the speech of **Com. Shibdas Ghosh**, an

outstanding Marxist---Leninist thinker and the leader of our party in the **National Democratic Convention** held in **Delhi in November, 1964** where he says inter alia that, "In the course of the political movement against imperialism, the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but for the failure on the part of the leadership (*national bourgeois leadership*—**Ed. P. E.**) of our national liberation movement to accomplish in the main the tasks of social and cultural revolution against feudalism, feudal disunity and free the people from religious bondage for democratisation of society, the Indian people remained socially and culturally divided into different communities, disunited by religion, caste, language, race, etc." So these unfinished tasks of bourgeois democratic revolution which have left the people disunited socially and culturally, on the basis of race, religion, caste etc. form the basis of communal problem which still looms largely over our society. The national bourgeoisie which fought against the British imperialism to establish its own class hegemony and exercise full control over the society, compromised with feudalism for fear of revolutionary take-over of the State by the working class and the other toiling masses. After attaining the political power and with the gradual consolidation of it, the bourgeoisie on the one hand is increasing its repressive machinery to foil the popular democratic movements launched against them and on the other hand resorting to the same old trick of the Britishers to keep the people disunited in various ways. So it is naive to expect that those who represent the vested class would do anything to eliminate this scourge from social life. Only with the establishment of a socialist State and building up of socialism,

such a problem can be finally resolved. So these tasks of social and cultural revolution which the bourgeoisie is unable to accomplish now, have become an essential task of progressive left movement and also to be incorporated in the programme of socialist revolution. Any progressive democratic party, let alone the revolutionary party and organisation, cannot escape the necessity to fight out the forces which still obstruct the process of democratisation of society, and weaken the legitimate democratic movements against the vested class. But in this respect, the so-called left parties, have not only failed to incorporate it in the programme of their democratic movement but actually fomented these divisive communal forces to grow for achieving petty political benefits.

It is our appeal to the

Muslim masses that they should not be swayed by communal persuasion of the groups which assembled at the Convention. This would in no way achieve their freedom from present exploitation of the ruling capitalist class. To fight out communalism, to increase the living standard of the common Muslim masses, to secure their life and assure livelihood, it is essential to build up closer unity with the fighting masses of all the communities inhabiting here, accelerate mighty democratic movement, develop democratic and revolutionary political consciousness of the people and set up revolutionary mass organisations throughout the country under the correct revolutionary leadership for finally wiping out the capitalist class from power. Their road to progress and prosperity lies precisely in this direction.

## Real Picture In Dollar Land

A well-known weekly has published one report depicting the extent of poverty which prevails in America now. "One New Yorker out of eight and one out of ten persons in Los Angeles is on welfare, which is the fashionable euphemism for dole. There were eight million persons on welfare in 1960. According to the latest figures, some 12.4 millions are on the rolls now. In 1969 the number of people on the welfare rolls grew by 20 per cent for the nation as a whole. In places like New Jersey the rise was 55 per cent. At the present time the poverty level for a family of four living in an urban area is 3,720 dollars a year. Some 20 million Americans are below this minimum." A "paradise" indeed for the capitalist-roversers!

## Imperialist Feature Of India

On Asian Economic co-operation a *Hindusthan Times Correspondent* has remarked "But above all many Asian countries accuse India of applying double standards—a liberal, generous posture in multi-lateral forums, but a tough almost mean attitude in bilateral discussions. The Nepalese delegate said in Kabul for instance that "while on the one hand we talk of regional co-operation and introduce schemes with a view to furthering such objectives, on the other hand we have witnessed difficulties in concluding bilateral arrangement between regional countries." There is nothing wrong or surprising in it. Such resentment and antipathy against India is nothing but an expression of deep reaction of the national bourgeoisie of these underdeveloped countries against the exploitation of the Indian monopolists. India is relatively capitalistically more developed than the rest and has already emerged as an imperialist country. Only out of blind fanaticism the advocates of Peoples' Democracy are ignoring this stark reality.

## Mr. Pazangalam Badarudeen of Kerala joins SUC C. P. I. (M) no better than a Parliamentary Reformist Party

STATEMENT OF Mr. PAZANGALAM BADARUDEEN

"I was a member of the united C. P. I. from 1954 and when the party was splitted I joined the C. P. I. (M), with a hope that it would as the leaders promised, organise revolutionary struggles of the workers and toiling masses of this country. But the way the party behaved so long and particularly when it came to power with other fraternal parties of the U. F. showed its parliamentary and reformist tendencies no less than the old party.

At this present stage of democratic struggle when in the interest of revolution it was necessary to unite all the left parties and build up mighty democratic struggles against both the sections of the Congress, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra and the industrialists and the rich peasants, I along with many other party members found to our dismay that the party both in Kerala and West Bengal was gradually shifting to the side of the vested interest, the industrialists and the rich peasants and pursuing an aggressive and adventurist attitude towards the other constituents of the U. F. to fulfil narrow sectarian petty party interests. They even went to such an extent as to side with the rich peasants and the industrialists and use police to suppress the democratic struggles of the peasants and workers both in Kerala and West Bengal. (3 workers were killed at Idikki during E.M.S. Ministry). This opportunist and disruptionist behaviour and policies of the C P I (M) broke the U. F. both in Kerala and W. B. dividing the unity of the left and democratic forces to the advantage of the reactionaries. This could not but raise questions and doubts in the minds of the honest workers of the party. Very recently on different occasions the leaders did not hesitate to jointly move with the Syndicate Jana-Sangh and the Swatantra (the glaring example of which is the support of the party to the JanaSangh-Syndicate candidate

in the Rajya Sabha Deputy Chairman election) though the leaders often say that the Syndicate Swatantra clique is the number one enemy of the working class. This hypocritical behaviour of the party leaders could not be concealed when in the last mid-term poll in Kerala the CPI(M) extended open support to 10 Syndicate sponsored candidates like K. Madhava Menon at Calicut and N. K. Kumaram at Canannore even by withdrawing its own candidate Mr. Girish from Calicut. I personally went to Mr. Namboodiripad to seek an explanation of this opportunist stand of the party. But instead of getting a proper answer from him I was rebuked to be a Naxalite.

From all these behaviours of the party and from my own experiences as an active member of the Chathannore Candalam Committee and the Secretary of the peasant front for the last six years I was thoroughly convinced that this party, inspite of its Marxist-Leninist vocabularies and all tall talks of revolution is no better than a parliamentary, revisionist reformist party like the C. P. I. I along with some other members of the party came out from the party and as a protest contested as an independent candidate from the Chathanore constituency of the Quilon district.

Now after coming in contact with the Socialist Unity Centre of India, by analysing the revolutionary

theories of this party, and by studying the history of its heroic struggles and also its unique role in maintaining unity of the left and democratic forces of W. B. against both right-opportunism and left sectarianism with a view to organise united democratic struggles against both the sections of Congress and other reactionaries, I am thoroughly convinced that this party is the only genuine Marxist-Leninist working class revolutionary party in India and it alone can organise the working class and other exploited masses of India with a correct revolutionary outlook and ideology and lead them to power by destroying the present exploitative capitalist system.

I know there are many honest members in the C. P. I. (M) who sincerely believe in revolution. To these honest members of the C. P. I. (M). I appeal to think over, that in a capitalist country like ours what else the People's Democratic Revolution may mean other than parliamentarianism or adventurism; and whether a party with such opportunist, reformist and revisionist approach and policies can really organise an anti-capitalist socialist revolution

which alone can emancipate the exploited masses of India?

The so-called Communist parties have betrayed the cause of democratic movements in their petty party interests. The people have become frustrated and disgusted with these political parties. But when Kerala along with other States of India is suffering from hundred and one types of problems and when the suffering and miseries of the toiling millions are becoming more and more unbearable due to capitalist exploitation the exploited and oppressed people of Kerala and other States have no other alternative but to develop mighty democratic struggles and ultimately to overthrow the present capitalist State through revolution to free themselves from the yoke of capitalist exploitation. And for such democratic movements and the ultimate revolution a genuine revolutionary working class party is to be built up and strengthened in Kerala.

Therefore I call upon the toiling masses, the democratic and progressive people of Kerala to come forward with all possible help to strengthen S. U. C. I., the only Marxist-Leninist Party in India."

**Sd./Pazangalam Badarudeen**

## School Of Politics In Assam

Under the auspices of Goalpara District Committee of S. U. C. I. a School of politics was held at Goalpara town in Assam on 29th and 30th December 1970. The School was conducted by Com. Sukomal Das Gupta, a leader of S. U. C. I.

In this School Com. Dasgupta dealt on dialectical and historical materialism and showed why revolution is inevitable. In this context he emphasised the indispensable tasks of forming a working class party and by showing the differences between S. U. C. I and other parties claiming to be Marxists like CPI, C.P.M. and C. P. I (M L), he unques-

tionably established why S.U.C. I is the only revolutionary working class party in India. Stage of India's revolution was also discussed in this school 50 persons including students, teachers, intellectuals, workers and peasant cadres attended the school. The deliberation at the school created much enthusiasm among the participants.